

Community Service News

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NEWS NOTES

Paul and Betty Keene, of Penns Creek, Pa., would like to get in touch with a family who would share their small community adventure with them. A farm and farmhouse are available. There is possible at Penns Creek a range of employments for families with appropriate experience, personality, and capacity.

On December 1-3, at Hershey, Pa., was held the Third Decentralist Conference, in an effort to find common ground for a program of economic decentralization. The varied views in evidence during the conference gave evidence of the need for much research and clarification of issues before any general policy of decentralization can become widely accepted.

CORRESPONDENCE

The rural Day Camps are a special pride and joy of mine, and I really got part of the idea at the Conference on the Small Community which I attended at Yellow Springs. We arrange for a leader to go to a rural community for one day a week to lead a day camp program of crafts, nature lore, music, swimming, etc. Children from the farm are brought in for the day by their parents and bring lunches with them. They help to plan the program.—*Louise Colley*, Simcoe County recreation leader, Barrie, Ontario

Thank you very much for your recent comments [in the Sept.-Oct. *News*] regarding our program. Since returning from the small community conference a number of the participants, especially the leaders themselves, have written me regarding our program, and we are establishing very active and interesting correspondence with them on mutual problems. I believe that in Southern Illinois you will find one of the greatest challenges to a program of small community development that exists in the country today.—*Norman Bittermann*, Executive Director, Southern Illinois, Inc.

You will be interested, I think, in some bits of information connected with the report on

Finnish industry prepared by you and Howard Teaf over two years ago. Mr. Lehtonen said that some of the factories have accepted, and put into practice, the principle of permitting and encouraging workers to own an interest in the factory. This, he says, has been partly the result of the recommendations in your report.

Both Mr. Lehtonen and Mr. Rosenqvist [heads of two national organizations concerned with small industries] showed me their copies of your report, and said they have been reading and studying it as if it were the Bible. They say that many Finnish industrial organizations are still keeping your pattern as the ideal to be achieved, but feel that at present they still have a long way to go.—*George A. Selleck*, American Friends Service Committee, Helsinki.

MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES

January 14. Gahanna (Ohio) Community Church, annual meeting of the Ohio Association of Community-Centered Churches; workshop session, with clinic on community problems, in rural, urban, and downtown parishes; business meeting after lunch.

January 25-26, Vermont Citizens Conference; February 14-16, Community Development Conference; Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont.

February 3-4. Biennial conference, Community Chests and Councils, Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

March 8-10. Annual conference, Council of Southern Mountain Workers, Gatlinburg, Tenn. For information write headquarters at 8½ Wall Street, Asheville, N.C.

March 16-18. Annual conference, Rural Life Association, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio. Theme, "Building the Community." Discussions on small business, etc. Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, guest speaker. For information write R.L.A., Quaker Hill, Richmond, Indiana.

A THEORY OF METROPOLITAN DOMINANCE*

It is not the city or state, but the metropolis, that characterizes the structure of our civilization. The *metropolitan community* is that economic region over which a metropolis rules through commercial dominance, and of which it is the vital nucleus. In the form of "metropolitan communities" all areas in the country become organized in economic and cultural hinterlands tributary to dominant metropolises. Thus by pervading economic forces modern society is integrated in and subordinated to the economic organism of the metropolitan community. Such is the thesis of the author of *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community*, and the evidence he presents in support of it is scholarly and impressive.

Why should we study this metropolitan community? Warren Thompson, Director of the Scripps Foundation for Population Research, suggests one particularly important reason in his foreword to this volume:

"So long as population movements contributed, or were believed to contribute, to the increased efficiency of the economy they were good and their desirability was not to be questioned. That the tendency toward concentration might have harmful effects on the economy was unthinkable, and that it might have more remote social consequences unfavorable to the community as a whole and to the development of the individual personality was too fantastic to consider seriously." Now, however, the situation is changing. "Many people are asking whether the city has a harmful effect on health, citing the rapid increase of heart ailments, of cancer, and of mental ills; they are asking whether man will refuse to reproduce in crowded quarters once he has any choice in the matter; they are wondering what will be the psychological effects on children raised in environments where they are insulated from most contacts with the phenomena of nature. . . . There is an increasing interest in the study of population and a growing feeling that we should no longer trust to chance to achieve a distribution in this new age which will assure not only an efficient economy but also a larger measure of social and individual welfare.

"Finally, the development of the atomic bomb and the perfecting of methods of mass destruction through biological warfare has made us think about the settlement pattern as never before. . . . Too little is known about the details of the relationship between population distribution and the functioning of the economy to provide a basis for answering the questions

*Review of *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community, A Study of Dominance and Subdominance*, by Don J. Bogue (Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, 1949, 210 pages, \$2).

listed above. Any workable plan or policy for population distribution will necessarily be preceded by careful and detailed research.

"The conclusion of this study, that urban centers are now and probably will continue to be the major focal points of economic organization and hence, determiners of the pattern of population distribution, seems to me undeniable. Thus all plans for the redistribution of population which fail to take account of that fact would seem to be doomed in advance."

As the author of this study states, the hypothesis of metropolitan dominance is not new. N.S.B. Gras in 1922 and R.D. McKenzie in 1933 had developed the concept from historical and statistical studies. Mr. Bogue points out that Gras and McKenzie reached identical conclusions: "Not cities in general, but metropolitan cities in particular, dominate our society today. This dominance has come about as an orderly change in human organization, through the use of new techniques for supplying the necessities of life from the environment. Such an orientation of activities toward the metropolis is regarded as an epoch of community organization."

On the basis of population of the cities themselves, and of the size and population of their tributary areas, the author identifies sixty-seven of the largest cities in the United States as metropolises. This classification does not imply that a simple totalitarian relationship exists between these metropolises and their hinterlands. For there is constant competition and division of function between the various metropolises of a nation; and within any one metropolitan community there is similar competition between the metropolis and the cities within its area of dominance. The over-all structure yet reveals the extent and reality of metropolitan dominance. An interesting aspect of the metropolitan community is the pattern by which population density declines in proportion to the distance from the nearest metropolis. "The ability of its metropolis to concentrate people about itself extends over an area which is much larger than the metropolitan district [leaving] a huge ring of population deficit lying 165 miles or more from the metropolis."

The structure of the community implies specialization of function within the community. The metropolitan community reveals much specialization. At various distances from the center there develop belts of territory in which either retail, or service, or wholesale, or manufacturing activities are concentrated. Even agriculture is affected. For example, the American county with highest value of agricultural production is Los Angeles County, Los Angeles being the third largest city in America. The same relationships exist as to subdominant and smaller cities. Wholesale trade is most concentrated in the metropolis; manufacturing and specialized services are also greatly concentrated, but commonly in belts at some distance from the center. "One very obvious adaptation is for . . . the population to locate near the source

of supply. Since the metropolitan market center is the principal mechanism by which exchanges are effected, there is an additional reason in modern industrial commercial society for population to concentrate in the vicinity of the metropolis."

Such, in brief, is Mr. Bogue's thesis. His clear picture, effectively presented, helps to disclose structure in what appeared before to be a random and accidental population distribution. Because of the effectiveness of his statement it may well become a classic, like Turner's pronouncement on the disappearance of the frontier. Yet it is desirable to view that presentation objectively.

Mr. Bogue suggests that just as plants and animals in their natural environment arrive at patterns of distribution and dominance, so metropolitan dominance over the hinterland is the natural and necessary result of the life processes involved. If Mr. Bogue's assumptions of specialized commerce and industrialization as the primary source of metropolitan dominance were correct we should be faced with the probability that such dominance is inherent in any highly industrialized society, and there would be little if any prospect of that "reorganization of the economic structure which will in turn effect a new pattern of population distribution purely as a matter of economic adjustment" which Warren Thompson hopes for.

There may be a major error in the assumption that metropolitan dominance is chiefly the result of modern intercommunication, technology, and economic interrelatedness. Metropolitan dominance is no new phenomenon in history. Metropolitan Babylon, Greece, Rome, Damascus, Cairo, and sixteenth-century London had economic and commercial areas of dominance similar to the metropolitan dominance of today. To attribute metropolitan power to modern technology may be to fail in one of the most pressing tasks of our times, which is to free society from unnecessary and parasitic dominance by the metropolis.

The part which exploitation in many guises now plays in bringing about and in accentuating metropolitan dominance is scarcely touched upon in *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community*. Dominance which grows out of exploitation is fed by exploitation. As the metropolis through organization of exploitation becomes a place where wealth and luxury are abundant, it attracts to itself from the hinterland alert, informed, vigorous people who want to share in that wealth and luxury and in the processes by which it is acquired. Where wealth accumulates, there industry develops, there cultural activities flourish, there men are attracted to employment and higher income. As property owners move into the metropolis they carry with them ownership of the hinterland and the tribute from that ownership, and

as their families die out that ownership becomes increasingly concentrated in the hands of metropolitan financiers.

While sometimes it originated in sheer physical conquest, metropolitan dominance in the past was commonly sustained by prevailing ideas, or folkways, so deeply impressed on the public mind that they seemed to be a part of the very structure of the world. One such folkway was belief in the divine right of kings. So long as that belief prevailed, the king's court was the focus of metropolitan dominance. Another example of metropolitan dominance through the influence of folkways is the organization of the Christian Church. Until the Protestant Reformation it was assumed in Western Europe that the creator had delegated the head of the church as his sole authoritative representative. Rome being the head of the church, there followed a very real type of metropolitan dominance. With the Protestant Reformation the spell of that folkway was broken for much of Western Europe.

It is a characteristic of effective folk beliefs that they seem so inherently essential parts of the nature of things that they cannot be questioned. Among the important sources of income from the hinterland to the metropolis are money-credit and land rent. In each case we have a custom of paying tribute resting upon a folkway rather than upon technology or upon the nature of a free market economy.

Mr. Bogue excluded consideration of the role of "marketing and financial control" because of inadequate data on which to base such study. The role of finance was not taken into account even though it is conceived by many to be crucial to metropolitan dominance. For example, in his book, *The Culture of Cities*, in a penetrating study of metropolitan evolution, Lewis Mumford writes: "Monopoly capitalism: credit finance: pecuniary prestige—these are the three sides of the metropolitan pyramid. Whatever goes on in the big city ultimately traces back to one or another of these elements."

In medieval Europe, when very different "fiscal" folkways prevailed, small democratic industrial cities flourished largely free from metropolitan dominance. When fiscal systems changed and money could be hoarded and made scarce, the finance capitalist was given the whip hand and the metropolis gained control. Peasants were displaced from the land to make way for money income from wool, and the guilds fell from the twofold attack of competition from displaced peasants and an inadequate market—both consequences of the scarce medium of exchange.

The prevailing money system makes money serve, not simply as a medium of exchange, but at the same time as a form of wealth to be hoarded out of circulation and manipulated, to the extreme disadvantage of those who must live by current exchange of labor and commodities. Perhaps this money system is a folkway, the dissolving of which would profoundly modify and

reduce metropolitan dominance. To replace it with money which cannot be hoarded and manipulated, and which cannot be made artificially scarce as a medium of exchange, may seem fantastic, so great is our commitment to the prevailing system. Tested methods for achieving this end have heretofore been discussed in *Community Service News*.

Modern society is feeling its way toward becoming a complex social organism with endless and complex interrelationships, and America is taking the lead in that process. In the distribution of population and of economic activity in America there is useful and desirable gradation of facilities and services from the remote village to the metropolitan population center. Such economical organization of function is as natural and beneficial in America as it is nearly universal here. Yet it need not follow that interrelatedness must result in dominance and subordination. Other patterns are possible.

If the dominance of the metropolis has a dangerously harmful influence on society, what should we seek in its place? We should seek first that the world-wide metropolitan culture should cease to displace and destroy the life and integrity of communities and regions. The larger economic and cultural community is needed, but not at the expense of the smaller. As examples of what might be called regional communities without undue metropolitan dominance, North Carolina with its many specialized and interrelated cities is relatively free from metropolitan dominance. Among nations, Switzerland has kept a remarkable although precarious balance between the integrity of the small canton and local community and a national economic and cultural community. Design and purpose and the influence of some of the greatest thinkers on this problem—such as Jacob Burckhardt—have done much to make the Swiss pattern possible.

May it not be said that metropolitan dominance, like various other forms of social dominance, is a phenomenon of social immaturity, of restriction of social and economic opportunity? Social organization, widespread interaction, and interdependence are inevitable and wholesome. Metropolitan dominance on the other hand, was never so absolute as when it was based on exploitation by conquest and tyranny and had little relation to commerce and industry. Gradually the element of exploitation has grown less, while the quality of mutuality has increased. Exploitation, subtly hidden in the texture of the economic and social structure, as in control of land and natural resources and in the present money system, still provides no small element of metropolitan dominance. As these servitudes are gradually reduced through education and social policy, a continually higher degree of social integration may accompany a steady fading away of metropolitan dominance.

The small community may have social and economic relations with larger social units without being culturally or economically submerged by them.

Sound and vigorous community life, without dominance and servitude, may exist in a fully organic society. In fact, it cannot otherwise fulfill its possibilities.

Such a study as that by Mr. Bogue is valuable in helping us to understand where we are and how we arrived. Dr. Thompson well states in his introduction: "It is hoped that this study will do something to encourage other studies so that in time we shall be able to improve our manner of life by the rational control of human settlement in those types of communities which man may find most congenial to his nature."

—Arthur E. and Griscom Morgan

ORGANIC SOCIETIES: PAST AND FUTURE

The concentration of people in cramped and inadequate living space is not the most significant effect of metropolitan dominance. Were that the case we could point with optimism to the present trend of many metropolitan-owned industries to locate plants in smaller towns. The more serious consideration is what metropolitan dominance does to the small communities within the metropolitan region, communities that are nearly as essential units of human life as the individual and family that make them up. Not only industry, communication and transportation, but even religion, education and culture are increasingly oriented to the metropolis, with a resulting loss of the integrity of the small community.

The historic contrast between metropolitan communities and small communities which have kept their integrity is most aptly described in Hendrik Van Loon's *The Story of Mankind*. Telling about the conflict between the small nation-cities of ancient Greece and the metropolitan empires of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt, Mr. Van Loon writes:

"The people of Babylon and Assyria and Egypt had been part of a vast mob. They had been lost in the multitude. The Greek on the other hand had never lost touch with his immediate surroundings. He never ceased to be part of a little town where everybody knew everyone else. He felt that his intelligent neighbors were watching him. Whatever he did, whether he wrote plays or made statues out of marble or composed songs, he remembered that his efforts were going to be judged by all the free-born citizens of his home-town who knew about such things. This knowledge forced him to strive after perfection, and perfection, as he had been taught from childhood, was not possible without moderation.

"In this hard school, the Greeks learned to excel in many things. They created new forms of government and new forms of literature and new

ideals in art which we have never been able to surpass. They performed these miracles in little villages that covered less ground than four or five modern city blocks.

"And look, what finally happened!

"In the fourth century before our era, Alexander of Macedonia conquered the world. As soon as he had done with fighting, Alexander decided that he must bestow the benefits of the true Greek genius upon all mankind. He took it away from the little cities and the little villages and tried to make it blossom and bear fruit amidst the vast royal residences of his newly acquired Empire. But the Greeks, removed from the familiar sight of their own temples, removed from the well-known sounds and smells of their own crooked streets, at once lost the cheerful joy and the marvelous sense of moderation which had inspired the work of their hands and brains while they labored for the glory of their old city-states. They became cheap artisans, content with second-rate work. The day the little city-states of old Hellas lost their independence and were forced to become part of a big nation, the old Greek spirit died. And it has been dead ever since."

It is against such a perspective that Lewis Mumford* gave a prescription for the re-creation of the values of regional and community autonomy:

"The real alternative to the empty political patterns of the nineteenth century lies, not in totalitarianism, but in just the opposite of this: the restoration of the human scale in government, the multiplication of the units of autonomous service, the widening of the cooperative processes of government, the general reduction of the area of arbitrary compulsion, the restoration of the processes of persuasion and rational agreement. Political life, instead of being the monopoly of remote specialists, must become as constant a process in daily living as the housewife's visit to the grocer or the butcher, and more frequent than the man's visit to the barber. If the leisure that man has been promised by the machine counts for anything, it must count for the extension of the privilege of being an active political animal. For every phase of group activity, industrial, professional, educational, has its political aspect: each activity raises special problems of power, organization, control, and discipline—problems that cry for intelligent and orderly solutions.

"Where shall this return to political realities begin? Where better than in the region? All rational politics must begin with the concrete facts of regional life, not as they appear to the specialist, but as they appear first of all to those who live within the region. Our educational systems are only

*In *The Culture of Cities* (New York. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938), pp. 382-385.

beginning to make use of the local community and the region as a locus of exploratory activities: but before the resources and activities of a region are treated as abstract subjects they should be understood and felt and lived through as concrete experiences. . . . Every child should have a firsthand acquaintance with the primitive substratum of economic life: the geography and geology of the textbook should be annotations to these experiences, not substitutes. So, too, with work in the garden, the vegetable patch, the hay-field and the grain field: here is the very substance of regional life, and no system of education, no urban environment, can be considered even remotely satisfactory that does not include these experiences as a vital element. Child labor, as Karl Marx pointed out, will be an essential part in all education once the element of exploitation is removed from it. . . .

"It is in the local community and the immediate region, small enough to be grasped from a tower, a hilltop, or an airplane, to be explored in every part before youth has arrived at the period of political responsibility, that a beginning can be made toward the detailed resorption of government—an alternative to that half-world of vague wishes, idle dreams, empty slogans, pretentious mythologies in which the power politics of the past has flourished.

"Most of our educational routine, as built up during the past century, has reflected the dominant political and economic institutions: it has substituted mere paper counters for reality. The elimination of concrete views and concrete experiences has reduced rather than widened the sphere of effective education: finally, we arrived at the age of extreme specialization, the present age, when the amount of specialized knowledge, often accurate, often extremely refined, has far outstripped our capacity to make use of it as part of a consistent whole. The remedy for this is not to be found in a mechanical combination of specialisms: we might digest the contents of an encyclopedia without achieving anything more in the nature of unity than a headache. The cure lies rather in starting from the common whole—a region, its activities, its people, its configuration, its total life—and relating each further achievement in specialized knowledge to this cluster of images and experiences.

"Here and there this organic approach to knowledge, as one with life, and to life as a constant function of knowledge, has been made in education: beginning at the lowest stage in the new nursery school. But the fact is that education, instead of rising above this unifying attitude, must keep it at every later stage, along with the elements of deliberate play and art."

Community Planning and Action in Sanilac County, Mich. How to Maintain Interest in Community Development

The Michigan Community News Letter, published by the staff of Community Adult Education, University of Michigan, in its May, 1949 issue, presents a good example of a realistic combination of survey, planning, and action in community development. The Sanilac County Planning Committee, whose work is described, though started with a more limited concern for land use, broadened its scope to the interests of the whole community. The following is from the account in the *News Letter*.

"This Committee was organized ten years ago, under the guidance of the Assistant County Agent in Land Use as an 'advisory committee' to the Sanilac County Agricultural Service. Last year the Committee developed a list of nine problem areas which it considered to be of primary concern to farmers: 1. Taxation; 2. Schools; 3. Drainage; 4. Roads; 5. Farm Fire Protection; 6. Weed Control; 7. Health; 8. Crop Protection; 9. Zoning and Building Restrictions. Then the Committee appointed a *steering committee* to map out an over-all plan for tackling these problems.

"*Finding out how not to do it.* The steering committee first checked to find out how *other counties* had tackled these problems. The typical pattern, they found, was to begin with an intensive over-all survey of needs, with the 'intention' of using the results as a basis for 'later' planning and action.

"However, they found that although over twenty counties in Michigan had already made intensive land use studies, none of these counties had had much success in following up these studies with action! The total survey usually took so long that people simply lost interest. They couldn't see results. Hence this committee felt that a new and different approach was needed.

"*How they overcame loss of interest.* After four days of intensive study the steering committee decided that continuity of effort toward solving the problems could best be assured if planning *and action* went hand in hand. The members felt that in this way much of the frustration and loss of interest which always accompanied long periods of planning could be avoided. Consequently they recommended that the Planning Committee:

1. Set up special committees to study certain specific, pressing, 'bite-size' problems which *could be acted on now*.

2. Instruct these special committees to make recommendations for *practical immediate action* on these problems to the main Planning Committee.

"This suggestion was followed by the Planning Committee, thus making it possible for action to be in progress in some areas while long-range study and planning were still going on in other areas. The feeling of success generated by the action on the short-range projects helped to maintain interest at a high pitch during the long-range survey and the over-all planning.

"How this works in practice in Sanilac County. The study committees have done considerable planning during the past year. For example, the *School Study Group* has written an extensive report which outlines major trading centers and natural community centers in Sanilac County, recommends standards, and suggests plans for the future.

"The *Drainage Committee* has completed a comprehensive survey of the Cass River Basin; and the *Health Committee* has made a survey of health needs. Although planning is still in progress in some areas, the Planning Committee has already swung into action in others. *Farm fire protection* has been more than trebled; steps have been taken to establish *flood control*; the *Weed Control Committee* has held a county-wide demonstration; and the *Drainage Committee* has held a dozen farm tile drainage demonstrations.

"And these are only a few of the things that are being done. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that interest and participation in the Planning Committee's activities have remained at a high level."

Miami County's Achievement in Building Mental Health

Another story of a county organization which has kept people interested and active is that of Miami County, Ohio. How Miami County is fighting social and mental disease is big news today, described in *Farm Journal*, *Time*, and other magazines. Urged into action by a process similar to that which got Kentucky "on the march," Miami County has faced the facts of the high proportion of divorce, personality disorder and insanity, and has developed a strong preventive and remedial program under the Miami County Mental Hygiene Association.

Chief features of the program are a clinic for epileptics, a child guidance center supported by National Mental Health Act funds, short courses on marriage, courses for teachers on mental health, informal consultation among ministers, lawyers, teachers and others on specific cases and general mental health problems, and a full-time executive secretary. As a result of the program divorces have decreased and school failures are reduced by half. Richard C. Davids, concluding the first of a series of four articles on the Miami project in the *Farm Journal* (November 1949), says: "The cost in money isn't great, but the cost in time spent is enormous. Getting the program started takes time and energy—the unfailing energy of God-touched people who refuse to give up."

Dr. A. R. Mangus reports the Ohio State University research in mental health, initiated in Miami County, in the September, 1949, *Rural Sociology*. In his conclusion he writes: "A major problem is how to make maximum use of group processes as preventive, therapeutic, and meliorative influences."

THE NATURE OF AN ORGANIC SOCIETY*

by Gordon Rattray Taylor

There is quite a fundamental distinction, I suggest, between groups which are formed for specific limited purposes—such as armies, sports clubs or scientific societies—and groups which attempt to provide for the individual a complete social *milieu*. This second category comprises groups of various degrees of elaboration, ranging from the family at one extreme to society as a whole at the other.

Now while a very great deal of attention has been devoted to the family and to society, very little has been given to the intermediate stages. Anthropologists have noted the hierarchy of family, clan, tribe and nation, and a little stress has been laid upon the value of the in-group composed of several families, with their retainers, as a social unit, but the higher levels of the pyramid seem to have been neglected.

Within the range I have indicated, from family to society, we can descry another critical division: between groups whose members *all* meet one another face to face, and those who do not. The typical representative of this intermediate grouping is the *village community*. As the size of the social unit increases, the proportion of the members which any one person can know falls; and we might provisionally fix the upper limit at the point where the average member knows 50 per cent of the members. After this point the people he does not know outnumber those he does.

The thing about a group of this kind which gives it its distinctive character is the fact that everyone has formed an *assessment* of what the other members of the group mean to them: *X* is a person I could ask for help, *Y* is a potential menace, *Z* is a bore, and so on. I propose therefore to call it an *assessment group*.

Such a group naturally contains many first-order face-to-face groups. Members of these groups also form assessments of one another, but they go further: each individual establishes positive links of affection or regard for the other members. These links seem to be based largely on shared experience, and acceptance of the other individual for what he is, good or bad. This type of group we may distinguish as an *affective group* [or autonomous or fellowship group].

The next step is to ask what the significance of such groups is to the individual. It is threefold.

The first is that group membership contributes an indispensable something to the sense of security. We can refer here to the work of Mayo and Lombard who studied certain U.S. factories and found that those workers who failed to become members of informal groups within the factory soon left to work elsewhere. Absenteeism was also correlated with failure to find group membership.

Secondly, membership of a group reduces the amount of thinking which has to be done. Clear-cut roles are established, routines for dealing with various situations are evolved, and life can be lived with the minimum of psychological

*Reprinted from *The Sociological Review*, Vol. XL, 1948.

effort. It seems clearly established that thinking is an emergency reaction and exhausting.*

Thirdly, groups exert social control. Failure to observe the *mores* is punished by disapproval or ostracism. For these social controls to work it is essential that people's lives should interlock. The thing which deters you from anti-social behaviour is knowing you will be cut at the club, or that your daughter will not be asked to the dance. The condition of effectiveness is that assessments should have been made.

These three ideas—security, elimination of emergency situations, and social control—are quite familiar to sociologists in the context of society as a whole.

But I am suggesting that they do not necessarily pertain to society as a whole. What they pertain to is assessment groups and to affective groups.

We can now try and define organic society. I suggest that organic society is one in which (1) group structure is preserved, (2) social controls operate effectively, (3) the mores are adequate to deal with all recurring situations and (4) roles are clear-cut. Such a society would be psychologically secure, highly cooperative and in many ways less frustrating than our own.

Now the definition I have just proposed applies fairly closely to the medieval community, and to many primitive communities today. It most certainly does not apply to the western industrial culture in which we live.

I need not elaborate. As we all know, people are pitchforked together in towns which are almost devoid of group structure. People move from place to place and from job to job.

Social controls are almost entirely ineffective. As a result of the general anonymity of society, it is rather easy to commit crime of any kind, without "social" consequences, and very easy to commit those crimes which are not specifically condemned by the law. Naturally enough, people are very insecure, very exhausted, very frustrated.

The opposite of the organic society is the mass society. In the mass society we have no groups, simply a large number of individuals and a central power, the state. We have, of course, plenty of groups formed for limited purposes, but we have very few groups which provide total life-situations for their members.

This conception of isolated individuals owing no allegiance, except to the state, corresponds pretty closely with the picture drawn by the 19th century

*The importance of minimizing psychological effort through association in the small community has an interesting confirmation from observation of flocks of chickens. Dr. A. M. Guhl, of Kansas State College, has found from extensive study that within a flock of chickens about thirty is the maximum number that can form sound assessments of one another. In a small flock a hen knows which bird she must steer clear of. In a larger flock, she is not so sure, and it is most upsetting to her not to know which chicken she can peck and which is going to peck her. For that reason a small flock lays better than a large one.

economics. And it is an interesting point that this certainly did not describe life as it existed when Ricardo and Adam Smith were writing. Another feature of the mass society is the extent to which it has delegated primary life-functions—such as food-production and the administration of law—to specialists.

It is because we have created this approximation to a mass society that we find a steady growth of central control. It is because the natural sanctions of the group have broken down that we have to have bureaucratic mores and legal sanctions. The ration book is a sort of paper substitute for a folkway; it is an incarnate taboo. I conclude therefore, that—whatever government comes to power—we shall see a steady increase of controls, because we are steadily increasing the social disorganization of society. It is quite meaningless for the Conservative Party to declare themselves against controls; even before the war the Conservative Party operated a body of controls which would have been regarded with horror fifty years before. Now it tells us that it will continue the nationalization of the mines and the Bank of England. The Conservatives are simply travelling the same road as the Socialists but a mile or two behind.

Central control, as we are all finding, can never be effectively tailored to the needs of local situations. The bureaucrat must make his decision on the evidence entered on his forms. This is never a hundredth part of the evidence available to the man on the spot, who knows the ins and outs of each application. That is to say, the trouble with the bureaucrat's decision is that it is *impersonal*. It is not based on face-to-face relations. Then the question of social controls arises too. The bureaucrat is not subject to pressures from those he controls, as a local administrator is.

Another consequence of social disorganization is a loss of security. Governments, both of the Right and of the Left, attempt to deal with security by providing pensions, health insurance and so on, but anthropologists have shown that the sense of security has little or no connection with economic factors. The aborigines of Central Australia are remarkably free from anxiety though they live in an unfavourable climate and infertile surroundings. The Dobu of New Guinea are hagridden by anxiety though they live in a fertile *milieu*. Equally, the members of our own society will not find security until the group structure of society is rebuilt.

A point I should like to make here is that huge central agencies—hospitals, labour exchanges, pensions offices and so on—inevitably treat the individual as a cipher. In some cases they make attempts to disguise this, but since they do not know him as an individual they cannot really treat him as one. Those who work among such surroundings all agree that being treated like a cipher, or like a bit of machinery, is a continual source of complaint. (The moral is not that we should have no hospitals etc., but that we should have smaller, locally-run ones, like cottage hospitals.)

Dr. Plant has made a very interesting distinction which is relevant here. He has pointed out that social agencies are interested in *what* you are but people are interested in *who* you are. The social worker says to the mother of a poverty-

stricken family, "Your Johnny must be taken away and properly looked after: he's starved and lousy." (That's *what* he is.) She replies: "But he's my Johnny" (i.e., she replies by stating *who* he is.)

The task, then, is to restore the group structure of society and with it the personal contact between those whose decisions affect one another.

It would seem that we shall have to decentralise the population, so as to break up inorganic masses like the population of London and the conurbations of the north. It would seem that we shall have to reckon on low economic mobility. We shall regard it as a good thing if people work in the district in which they were born. This I think implies a considerable reduction in disparities of living standards. People born into a dreary neighbourhood will naturally try to move from it.

Accompanying this decentralisation of people must go a decentralisation of control. Another thing we have to do is to build up suitable mores and taboos with which the restored social controls can operate.

There are plenty of difficulties in such a programme. I would like, in conclusion, to draw attention to two kinds of difficulty, of especially sociological interest.

The first is the question of size. What is the maximum size of an assessment group? I do not think anybody has ever tried to measure how many assessments an individual can make, and how effective these are. I have tried to make an estimate from my own experience and I think that the number of assessments in which I have any confidence is of the order of 5,000. This is probably high. It would seem that the basic units of society could not be much larger than twice this. One of the things we need to know is what percentage of organicity is a working minimum. In addition, however, we must reckon that some of each member's assessments will refer to people in other groups, and if we are to lock the groups together socially, we must be prepared to allocate a number of these links in this way.

Lastly let us face the inherent disadvantages of assessment groups. As we all know they are apt to be intolerant and narrow-minded. The psychologists have made it pretty clear how this occurs: vindictive behaviour comes from warped personalities—to be more precise from personalities which have failed to receive the love and affection which they need. And Professor Kardiner has shown how such personalities can become widespread throughout a culture for reasons which are sociological in nature. Thus we come back once again to the question of personal relations. And as I see it, western society will not escape from its dilemmas simply by asserting the desirability of improved personal relations.

These, perhaps, are fighting words. The scientist's duty, we are constantly told, is to remain dispassionate, to keep values out of it. I think there is a confusion of thought here. Consider the case of the doctor. He must be dispassionate in choosing between two theories of disease. But surely no one denies that he must value health more than sickness. I suggest that the sociologist, too, must nail his colours to the mast and proclaim social health—that is, perfect functioning—as his ruling value.

EDUCATION FOR COMMUNITY

COMMONALITY OR COMMUNION

by G. SCOTT WILLIAMSON

The Pioneer Health Centre has an unusual recognition of the divisive effects of most welfare, recreation, and community organization work and the unifying influence of a living autonomous community. Dr. G. Scott Williamson expresses this philosophy in an article in Peckham, organ of the Pioneer Health Centre.

A community of families forms the basis for a Health Centre, a Centre whose aim is the study and cultivation of health; a *commonality of interests* is the characteristic of a Recreational Centre—often called a Community Centre. The Health Centre integrates families into a functioning society and cultivates the wholeness (or health) of the family. The commonality of interests of individuals—whatever those interests are—tends to disintegrate and destroy the ‘community’ of family.

In the community of a Health Centre everybody knows everybody—of every age and every wage level. In a Recreational Centre only those interested in this or that ‘interest’ tend to know each other, and the more deeply immersed they become in their special interest, the more they tend to become exclusive, and so the organisation tends to become an “Exclusivist’s Centre.”

It is not diverse interests but communal interests that are fundamental to a Health Centre and to the integration of society. In the days when the Church was the pivot of social life it filled the need for communion, and we must never forget that religion is not dead, though the Church has lost much of its sway. Science, now turning its attention to human living, suggests something very tangible and practical as a basis for communion, to wit, the home and the family. Every family is a *natural* community if it has a home, and only by the flow and mutual interchange between one natural community and another natural community can communion grow and develop spontaneously, i.e., of its own impetus.

How to marry one family and home to another family and home is the problem of the Peckham Experiment. We are not experimenting in communism but with natural “communion” (as our parents understood the word in the religious sense) and we must never confuse communism with communion.

Still less must we confuse a “common” interest with a “community” interest. As a schoolgirl remarked in her essay, “a Civic Restaurant is merely a Common Eating House, serving common meals in common circumstances.” It is certainly not a Community Restaurant. Commonality and Communion are poles apart.

The Inwardness of Socialisation

The centre piece of a Health Centre is a mother suckling her children either at the breast with mother's milk or at the knee with the familiar milk of her social experience—and so on through all the stages of growth up to mature personality and individuality. This means the cultivation of *life* through *love*.

"Peckham" has demonstrated that the father is only too anxious to play his part in this process of home growing. Indeed, a father comes "home" not merely to satisfy his physical appetite with food, but to satisfy his social appetite with a meal also prepared by his wife.

It is the woman who is the socialising element in the home. Without homes there can never be her socialising influence. Indeed the animal in man humanises itself through home and the community of homes—just as the child teaches itself to walk by running to its parent's knees, and teaches itself to talk that it may speak to its parents. Walking and talking are common to all men—but characteristic form and shape are learned in the community of the home.

Family life and its home, in this as well as in other countries, has withered away; it has to be revived by gentle, careful cultivation. We have begun the process at "Peckham" but the plant has yet to flower and then to fertilise and fruit.

We have to contend in the Peckham Experiment against nearly every modern social agency and trend of modern life and economic practice—for they all attack the integrity of the family. To solve the problems of society it is not enough to build houses, boost wages and provide schools. Growing homes is a much more serious and scientific proposition than building houses—and the Peckham Experiment is still the only scientific study of homes and health. Man works to live and only will work to live—and *life is home grown*.

Life is home *grown*, it cannot be *made* by any artifice. A home once it is seeded in the social soil can only grow, flower, fertilize and fruit in the communion of homes. Only when the biological conditions necessary for the fruitful growth of homes has been found, can we begin to know what the economic set-up should be.

Planners everywhere are hurrying to avoid catastrophe by trying to build from the top downwards; that can only be done on paper. You cannot "make" or "build" society by any artifice. Society can only *grow*; it is biological and living, from the tips of its roots deep in locality to the flowering and fruiting shoots high in the heavens. "Peckham" has begun to grow—from the earth upwards—and that can only be done in local communion.

EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY

by Rabindranath Tagore

This talk by a world-renowned educator was given over the radio in Boston on November 10, 1930. So far as we know, it has not hitherto been published. We reproduce it here because of its enduring value. Such an educational philosophy would humanize and vitalize our common schools.

Eighteen years after the talk was given I visited the project which Tagore described, and which continues after his death. Tagore's school, "Santiniketan," began with this statement of principles:

"To study the mind of man in its realization of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view." (It would study the cultures of the East to find their underlying unity, and, by free communication of ideas between East and West, would further world peace.)

"And with such ideals in view to provide at Santiniketan a centre of culture where study of the religion, literature, history, science and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian and other civilizations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realization, in amity, good-fellowship and cooperation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of the One Supreme Being."

Here where there was a desert are prosperous farms. The aborigenes, formerly treated as outcasts, find lives of dignity and interest. The school has become a center for gathering, preserving, and transmitting the treasures of Indian culture, in music, dancing, ceramics, painting, literature and manners. The school is itself an informal community. In the villages which have grown up around the institution as the desert has been subdued, the blight of caste is largely gone. There is a spirit of progress and aspiration. Tagore's songs, both music and words, are spreading over India, becoming the folk music of a vast nation. The vision here presented was not sterile verbiage. It has in some degree entered into the spirit of his people.

—Arthur E. Morgan

I am an artist, and not a man of science, and therefore my institution necessarily has assumed the aspect of a work of art, and not that of a pedagogical laboratory. This is the reason why I find it difficult to give you a distinct idea of my work which is continually growing for the last thirty years. With it my own mind has grown and my own ideal of education found freedom to reach its fullness through a mighty process that the picture of its unity could not be abolished.

Children's minds are sensitive to the influence of the great world to which they have been born. This delicate receptivity of their minds helps them without their feeling any strain to master language, that most complex instrument of expression, full of ideas that are indefinable and symbols that deal with abstrac-

tions. Through their natural gift of guessing, children learn the meaning of words which we cannot explain easily. But it is just at this critical period that the child's life is brought into the education factory, inert, colorless, disassociated from the context of the universe, with bare white walls staring like eyeballs of the dead. The children have to sit still while the lessons are pelted and cast at them.

I believe that children should be surrounded with the things of nature that have their own educational value. Their minds should be allowed to stumble on and be surprised at everything that happens before them in the light of day, that the new tomorrow will stimulate their attention with new facts of life.

The minds of adults are crowded. The stream of lessons habitually flowing from the heart of nature does not fully touch them. They choose those that are useful, rejecting the rest as inadmissible. The children have no such distractions. With them, every new fact comes to a mind that is always open with an abundant hospitality, and through this exuberant, indiscriminate acceptance they learn innumerable facts within a short time, which is amazing compared to our own slowness. These are the most important lessons of life that are learned easily in the first few years of our careers. Because when I was young, I underwent the mechanical pressure of a teaching process, one of man's most cruel and most wasteful mistakes, I felt it my duty to found a school where the children might be free in spite of the school.

Remembering the experience of my young days of the school master and class room, also knowing something of the natural school which nature herself supplies to all her creatures, I established my institution in a beautiful spot far away from town where the children had the greatest freedom possible, under the shade of ancient trees, and the fields around open to the horizon.

From the beginning I tried to create an atmosphere which I considered to be more important than the class teaching, the atmosphere of nature's own beauty was there waiting for us from time immemorial with her flowers and fruits, with the joy of a morning's freshness and the peace of a starry night.

I wrote my songs to the different seasons, to celebrate the coming of spring, and the season of the rain following the pitiless summer. When nature sends her message we ought to acknowledge its compelling imputation. While the rain thrills the hearts of the surrounding trees, we are giving a lesson in mathematics, we are ostracized by the spirit of the universe. Our harmonies are unexpended like nature's own. Clouds gather about the hoods of the palm trees without any previous notice. We gladly send subtle suggestions and run wildly to grammar. Any unsympathy to the world of birds and trees is the barbarity which is not allowed in my institution. I invited renowned artists from the city to live at the school leaving them free to produce their own work which the boys and girls watch if they feel inclined. It is the same with my own work. I compose my songs and poems; the teachers sit around me and listen. The children are naturally attracted and they peep and gather, even if they do not fully understand, something fresh from the heart of the composer.

From the commencement of our work we have encouraged our children to

be of service to our neighbors, which has produced a village reconstruction work in our neighborhood unique in the whole of India.

Around our educational work the villages have grouped themselves in which the sympathy for nature and service for man has become one. In such extension of sympathy and service our mind realizes its true freedom.

Along with this aspiration for even a higher freedom, a freedom from all racial, national prejudices, the children's sympathy is often deliberately made narrow and distorted, making them incapable of understanding alien peoples with different languages and cultures.

This causes us to grope after each other in ignorance, to suffer from the worst form of blackness of this age, the worst fetters being when children lose their freedom of heart in their work. We are building up our institution upon the ideal of the spiritual unity of all races.

I hope [my institution] is going to be a great meeting place for individuals from all countries who believe in the divine humanity and who wish to make atonement for the cruel disloyalty displayed against her by men. Such idealists I have often met in my travels in the West, unknown persons of no special reputation, who suffered and struggled for a cause most often mocked at by the clever, and ignored by the powerful, and these nameless individuals, I am sure, will alter the outlook for the future. By them will be ushered in a new sunrise of truth and love as was by that Great Personality who had only a small number of disciples from among the insignificant and who at the end of His career presented a pitiful picture of utter failure. He was reviled by those in power, unknown by the larger world and He suffered an inglorious death, and yet through the very symbol of this utmost failure, He conquers and lives forever.

For some time past education has lacked idealism in its mere exercise of an intellect which has no depth of sentiment. The one desire produced in the heart of the students has been an ambition to win success in the world, not to reach some inner standard of perfection, not to have obtained self-emancipation.

Let me confess this fact that I have my faith in higher ideals. At the same time I have a great feeling of delicacy in giving utterance to them because of certain modern obstacles. We have nowadays to be merely commonplace. We have to wait on the reports in the newspapers representative of the whole machinery which has been growing up all over the world for the making of life superficial. It is difficult to fight through such obstructions and to come to the heart of humanity. However, I have this one satisfaction, that I am at last able to put before you the mission to which these last years of my life have been devoted. As a servant of the great cause, I must be frank and strong in urging upon you this mission.

I represent in my institution an ideal of brotherhood where men of different countries and different languages can come together. I believe in the spiritual unity of man; therefore I ask you to accept this from me. Unless you come and say, "We also recognize this ideal," I shall know this mission has failed. Do not merely discuss me as a guest, but as one who has come to love your land, your sympathy and your faith in a great cause.

OKLAHOMA A & M's COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

by C. B. Loomis*

As colleges across the United States become more aware of their responsibility to the people outside the "ivory tower," varied approaches are made to implement that responsibility.

For a number of years there had been occasional discussion on the campus of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater as to the advisability of a unified approach to the communities of the state. The Agricultural Extension Service was at work with rural neighborhoods; Engineering Extension was meeting the special needs of certain industries; but few departments or schools knew what the others could do, or were doing, to assist local communities.

In December, 1946, Dr. N. Conger, then dean of the School of Education, called a two-day conference of the heads of all the schools of the college. Certain county and state community leaders were included. They discussed the need for a unified program, and the inclusion of all departments, faculty and students, that had a contribution to make to community life. They came out with a recommendation to President Henry G. Bennett, that a Community Development Program Committee of nine members be appointed, representative of all the schools of the college. . . . They asked that this committee be authorized to call a Community Specialist to be the liaison between campus resources and communities in the state. Dr. C. B. Loomis was called as Director of the Community Development Program and began his work September 1, 1947.

The purpose of the committee is to relate the total resources of the college to the development of better community life within the state of Oklahoma. The committee has no program to take to a community. It encourages an invitation from one or more leaders to meet with the people of the community to discuss what they think would make their community a better place in which to live. With this as a starting point, resources are made available as requested by the community. Sound community practices are suggested and a process looking toward self-identification of needs, as a result of study, is encouraged.

A twelve-county "laboratory" adjacent to the campus (approximately 100-mile radius) has been delimited, in order to make the resources of both faculty and students more readily available to communities in the area and to demonstrate certain democratic procedures in community planning.

*Reprinted from *Adult Education Journal*, October, 1949.

The first Building Better Communities Conference was held in Stillwater in January, 1948, for the community leaders of the limited area. Over 200 attended the one-day meeting which was largely a discussion session.

Two "Citizens' Workshops" have been conducted, one in a village of 1400, one in a village of 800. Local residents came together one night a week for ten weeks to study their own community and to plan a long-range program. Detailed check-lists were used to make opinion ratings in ten "areas of living." Action suggestions came from each rating committee. After group evaluations, these were revised, integrated, and placed in three categories: (1) for immediate action, (2) to be accomplished in a year, and (3) a 5-10 year program. At the end of ten weeks volunteer committees were set up, chairmen appointed and a permanent informal organization effected to guarantee action. The name "Citizens' Workshop" was continued and monthly social and report meetings agreed upon. The Workshops contained a cross-section of the community life, including youth. . . .

In the summer of 1948, a Community School Course was offered primarily for school superintendents, and for 1949, a Community Development Workshop was held for community leaders in the twelve-county area.

Methods of Working with Autonomous Groups, by Edward M. Haydon (*Autonomous Groups Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 4, Summer, 1949).

Mr. Haydon, out of a long experience, tells how professional social workers can be effective in their relations with informal, spontaneous groups, such as boys' gangs, racial and religious knots, and other informal associations. Many of the points he makes seem but to emphasize what is obvious common sense. Such admonition is most necessary where there is a lack of that combination of intelligence and integrity of personality which must ultimately be relied on to provide guidance through a maze of varying circumstances. We read:

"The worker should not resort to disguises or unnatural behavior or language in an effort to win acceptance. Wearing old clothes to establish rapport with a low-income group is bad strategy, because unless the worker wears his customary attire the group will soon discover that he is putting on an act. The worker who swears or acts tough when this is not his usual manner of speech or behavior will be easily identified as a fraud. In fact, it can be said that resorting to any type of subterfuge in an effort to gain confidence is a mistake, and will make the task of winning a good relationship more difficult, if not impossible."

The Bulletin is most useful as a source of such practical counsel.

REVIEWS

Leisure and Recreation, by Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer (New York, A. S. Barnes and Co., 1949, 411 pages, \$4.50).

Community Sports and Athletics, Organization-Administration-Program, by National Recreation Association (New York, A. S. Barnes and Co., 1949, 500 pages, \$4.00).

Community Organization for Recreation, by Gerald B. Fitzgerald (New York, A. S. Barnes and Co., 1948, 352 pages, \$4.00).

This grist of professional books on recreation, its problems, organization, and place in American life, leaves the lay reader with an impression of the vast complexity of the subject and some intimation of the haziness of even the most responsible thought concerning it. The great irony of the situation, not unrecognized by these authors, lies in the fact that the leisure won for men by technological and social achievement has brought so little happiness, for our civilization presents a spectacle of "sick hurry" quite as appalling in its way as anything in history. The recreation movement of the last few decades and the new profession of recreation leadership have done little to solve the problem of the real needs of men; and these books, however admirable in scholarship, are not calculated to provide the kind of inspiration and insight without which the best trained professional will go to his work in vain.

The least valuable of them is, unfortunately, the one which takes the widest view. *Leisure and Recreation* is a sociological study which touches on about every consideration and gives a world of information based on the findings of research. What it fails to give is a central principle, a leading idea which might animate effort and render needless to either professional or amateur the mastery of its multitudinous detail.

The second study, a practical handbook sponsored by the National Recreation Association, is designed for persons working or intending to work in a public recreation program. It lists all the sports, gives the rules of the games, defines the kinds of tournaments and contests, anticipates emergencies of administration, and in general conveys the experience of many responsible workers in a way which could not fail to be of value to anyone in need of just this information.

Professor Fitzgerald's book deals again with the larger problem and does so more interestingly and with less confusion than the Neumeyer volume. Its concern is less with the philosophy of the subject or with the specific values of this or that type of recreation than it is with the techniques of community organization. It proceeds on the assumption that the acceptance of public responsibility for a recreation service is fundamental to good community organization for recreation, that private agencies and voluntary

groups are essential community organization resources, and that laymen as well as professionals must have a place in recreation planning in a community. This is going at the problem from the right point of view, certainly. But the proposition that recreation programs require professional leadership for their success is one which demands closer examination than is given it in this study. Recreation programs may require professional leadership in the present state of our society in its urban aspects. But one has the conviction that the needed transformation of public attitude and interest will be brought about, if at all, by other agencies. The function of the professional is only palliative.

The writer of this review has often had occasion to contrast the response of organized groups to the ministrations of a professional with parallel but more informal, spontaneous, and amateurish activity, and to note the superior persistence and vitality of the latter. The other day a college assembly was led in singing by a skilled musician. Though the carols were familiar and the Christmas season was at hand, there was no great heartiness, no "common wave of hope and joy" in the performance. The same students will burst forth under other conditions, without leadership except from the group itself, in full-throated satisfaction. These "other conditions" are the thing we ought to watch and cherish, and it is given to no professional, as such, to do this well and wisely.

One other assumption which ought, I think, to be challenged, is that the hope of the future lies primarily outside the hands of private enterprise. There is a tendency to dismiss commercial recreation as wholly given over to exploitation and therefore beyond the pale. But high ideals and an intelligent understanding of the real and permanent desires of men are not absent from the business world; and if these qualities seem less conspicuous in the field of popular recreation and amusement than elsewhere, it is partly for lack of education in the practicality of giving the public what it wants on the higher rather than the lower levels of satisfaction. Research and experiment are needed here quite as much as in the field of publicly administered recreation programs. We should, for example, examine the case of a moving picture operator in a small town who is really taking the public into partnership in the conduct of his business and finding that they will support good pictures. We should look into the psychology of the audience-participating radio programs, and ask whether similar principles and techniques could not be employed with local people who respond so languidly to the efforts of welfare organizations in their behalf. To be any good at this the sociologists and their pupils must get out of their classes and their agencies, and they must approach free enterprise and individual initiative with greater friendliness than seems to belong naturally to their professional philosophy.

—J. H. Hanford

Kentucky on the March, by Harry W. Schacter (New York, Harpers, 200 pages, 1949, \$3.00).

This book has been extensively reviewed, as in the *Christian Century* (November 2, 1949) and in the *Reader's Digest* (October, 1949). Baker Brownell, reviewing it for the *Christian Century*, states, "This is a remarkable book because it is about a remarkable project." It is also good writing—by the man who initiated the Committee for Kentucky.

What can this reviewer add to the reviews most of us have read? They ably relate how the people of Kentucky gradually came to realize their own inherent strength and potential; how they took a gamble on idealism without sacrificing realism; and how the combination proved itself one of the social discoveries of our time.

Kentucky applied the principle of the community council to the state as a whole and then inspired its acceptance in local communities. But the significant thing about this project is harder to find and greater in reward than this pattern in itself. It is this deeper significance which this reviewer wants to point out.

When Mr. Schacter, as the president of the Committee for Kentucky, groping for a philosophy with which to proceed, asked Mark Ethridge for his thoughts on the subject, the vital hormone was introduced. For Mr. Ethridge's answer was indeed, as Mr. Schacter says, prophetic: "If the Committee for Kentucky can develop the moral climate in which Kentucky can make progress it will have made a real contribution to our times." The Committee took this counsel to heart. The extent of its success is due, we believe, to the extent of its loyalty to this principle.

The first sub-principle toward creating a moral climate was this: "The Truth Shall Make You Free." The first step was to gather and report the truth about Kentucky's social problems. Using all the skills of modern culture they made the people recognize in undisguised detail and with unquestionable authority the disgraceful conditions that existed in education, agriculture, health, welfare, housing, manufacturing, labor, natural resources, taxation, and the state constitution. They were criticized for "washing dirty linen in public," but they didn't wash the linen at all—they merely hung it out where the people could see for themselves. Then action was inevitable; their pride in Kentucky and themselves demanded it. And because practically all organizations, except those of large bankers and large manufacturers, participated in the work of the Committee, they were really only telling the truth about themselves. It was the old soul-searching and repenting process which has always been the first step to spiritual growth.

When this first step was well under way the second sub-principle was introduced: You were made for greater things; take up your bed and walk!

Thus, whereas the slogan for the first stage was "Wake Up, Kentucky," the succeeding slogan was "Kentucky on the March."

When they started marching they had to face several obstacles, any one of which could have reduced their efforts to insignificance. There was the Negro problem—the problem of single citizenship. They met this problem courageously in their own organization and thus inspired others to follow, though there is still far to go. Educational work had to be paid for; and with the big bankers and big manufacturers against them the money had to come from the middle classes—it did come, ever more abundantly. In order to work together many personal and organizational grudges had to be put aside, and in a remarkable number of cases these were eliminated in working together on something greater than any, and essential to all.

We hope that the plans for discontinuing the Committee for Kentucky in March, 1950, will be reconsidered. We admire the willingness to hand the stage over to local community councils and federations of them; but a state body made up of state organizations has a justification of its own, especially if it is willing to recognize its appropriate limitations. Why wouldn't a council of state organizations working together with a federation of community councils make an excellent team? Why wouldn't a council of national organizations working together with a federation of state councils make an excellent team? Haven't we here the nonpartisan way to the reform of our entire country and perhaps the world? Haven't we here something to inspire us to become spiritually transformed, that the "moral climate" of the world may be changed? This reviewer sincerely believes that we have.

—Alfred Andersen

The Training of Generalists; Preliminary Report of the Conference on Training for Community Service, at Garden City, N.Y., Sept. 29 to Oct. 2, 1949. This report gets its title from a proposal by John Herring and his associates, who arranged the conference, that there are needed men of all-round training to serve as professional community organizers. By inference the assumption is made in the report that the "American Council for the Community," incorporated by John Herring and associates during the summer of 1949, will be the leader and coordinating agency for community organization training in America.

An able member of the conference writes of this report:

"I think the Garden City Conference accomplished what its organizers had in mind and gave a number of us from various sections of the country a chance to get acquainted with each other. John Herring did an excellent job of his presentation in the Conference Report. It is most attractive. The hardest part of the road lies ahead in the efforts to arrange a special curriculum which is free of the usual academic entanglements."

Second Annual Report, Program of Community Dynamics (Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, Summer, 1949, 23 pages).

"Community Dynamics at Earlham College," the program of community studies directed by William Biddle, is now in its third year. Probably more than any other independent college, Earlham has devoted resources to a concern for the community. The Program of Community Dynamics does not seek primarily to educate social workers in community organization, but to contribute vital aspects of a liberal arts education—experience in community citizenship, understanding of human relations, and educational integration around the community as the historic focus of life.

The seminar on community problems is providing extensive community field work, as well as opportunities for service and research for its students. During the second year of this program three full-time staff members and three part-time graduate assistants, in addition to students in the seminar in Community Problems, worked with seven projects. These projects for the most part involve the development of community councils concerned with recreation, health, and human relations.

The beginning of a community project is found to depend upon the initiative of the people in the community, not on outsiders. The beginning activity should be relatively uncontroversial, and must arise from felt needs. Early success in the first endeavor is imperative. The crucial question is whether people in communities continue to grow or whether they become satisfied with minor achievement. "There is evidence that community councils spontaneously move on toward larger social issues when the prevailing atmosphere is made hospitable for growth."

The problem of securing leadership is answered in this report in much the same terms as in the Ogdens' book, *These Things We Tried*. "The success of the whole idea of democratic local autonomy is based upon the finding and encouragement of leadership ability in more and more people, whatever their previous social position or prestige. The question is: Can the first, over-busy council members be persuaded to give place to people they may consider less experienced or less socially acceptable than themselves? Can new members be discovered and trained soon enough to continue the enterprise?"

The role of the "outsider," which is the Earlham seminar group, is considered very thoughtfully. "Can we learn to stimulate without dominating? (And there are many subtle non-overt forms of domination.)" The role of the outsider is found to have distinct advantages in the community situation. Objectivity is more expected and more easily maintained, and the outsider may become the neutral counselor.

EXPERIMENTAL COMMUNITIES

SOMETHING MORE THAN COOPERATION: THE COMMUNITY
OF GOD IN THE HECHALUTZ

by Ralph Templin

In a sociological article on "The Hechalutz Training Farms and Sociological Research" in the November and December, 1948, issues of *The Chalutz*—Palestinian nationalist publication—Dr. Henrik F. Infield, of the Group Farming Research Institute, announced a long-range study of "co-operative group structure and its dynamics." Scientific research over a long period is to study the Hechalutz training farms in America, and to follow that up later by moving to Israel and continuing it in the Kibbutz movement there.

The Hechalutz training farms train for life in the Kvutza (all-out farm cooperative) in Palestine. According to Dr. Infield, these communities, for various reasons, furnish the best "source of information" in the modern world for studying the "dynamics" of the cooperative processes. This research has during its first year centered upon the study of the responses of individuals, their changing behavior, their capacity "for cooperation, and educational stimuli which can effect the desired education of cooperators."*

The Chalutz, which published this first announcement, is itself an interesting kaleidoscope of fervent nationalism, blending strangely in striking forms the military defense, the science, the religious passion, and the practical earthy pursuits of which it is compounded. The November issue led off with an article on "Chalutziut," by David Ben-Gurion. The following could well have been uttered by Gandhi in the Indian setting.

"Science uncovers hidden forces in nature. . . . Chalutziut uncovers hidden forces in man . . . joins his spirit to higher purpose . . . reaches for perfection . . . remakes reality. . . . In the soul of man are rich mines, endless sources of talent and power and strivings. . . . The difference between the brave man and the coward is that the former believes in his strength and ability and in that of his comrades; the latter does not. One seeks a difficult path and is successful; the other takes a seemingly easy way and fails. . . . The beginning of Chalutziut is the refusal to surrender to reality. The mission of the chalutz is the creation of life anew in the light of an historic vision."

One could also trace a close similarity between the spirit which breathes in these lines and the deep religious spirit of the Danish national renaissance,

*"Current Research," *Cooperative Living*, Spring, 1949. organ of G.F.R.I., Poughkeepsie, New York.

inspired by the great father of the Danish folk movement, Grundtvig. In each of these historical rebirths—Denmark, India, and Palestine—the same deep religious motivation is to be seen working out into the same profound community-building program for the rehabilitation of the fatherland; the same ultimate degree of political desperation can be discovered leading into vital reformation both within men and without, in a practical, as contrasted with a political, revolution.

If the Infield research is to be a fully scientific approach to what is happening on these farms and in the training farms where the new cooperative man is being prepared, it will have to include more than the mere sociology of cooperation. To the study of "cooperative group structure and its dynamic" there will have to be added a study of the folk movement which has produced this radical departure from the old ways.

This means something which is as sociological in character and as important to the scientist, as group dynamics. It means a study of why religion, or its equivalent, is the *sine qua non* of vital community. Tests applied to individuals are important to bring out certain facts. They will probably not suffice to reveal what it is which at certain periods so strangely moves masses of men to throw off old yokes.

What is happening today in Palestine and elsewhere cannot be understood apart from an understanding of the present crisis of civilization. Dr. Infield is aware of this, but his research does not sufficiently regard either the negative or positive phenomena of religion in their bearing upon social behavior. He writes often as though proceeding with the assumption that cooperation itself, if we can but sufficiently dig into it, will be found to hold all the treasure necessary for a satisfactory ethos for humanity at its highest. This is the "collectivization" fallacy of our age.

Cooperation, like science itself, is an instrument capable of great good or great ill. This does not mean that either is without its own intrinsic worth in human terms. But it means that they are amoral—not themselves embracing the ethical consideration of whether man is to shape his destiny for good or ill. Cooperation releases that strength in achievement which comes through unity of endeavor. Thieves and gangsters have cooperated and succeeded through cooperation. Modern capitalism succeeds in large part today through eliminating competition by cooperative elements in business. Community cooperation is significant because community involves principles more fundamental than cooperation. At their best these principles are so close to religion as to be identifiable with it. To single out for study the nature of that "something more than cooperation" in the cooperative movement might well prove to be the most important area of research in these social laboratories.

Pioneer in Community: Henri Lasserre's Contribution to the Fully Cooperative Society, by Watson Thomson (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1949, 123 pages, \$2.00).

A significant life and an able biographer make fine reading; in this case the reading is among the best we have seen on the "intentional community." The life is that of Henri Lasserre who, while inheriting a fortune and a remunerative legal profession from his Swiss father, with the romantic commitment to a social theory which sometimes characterizes the idealistic inheritor of wealth, devoted both unselfishly to promoting cooperative community in Switzerland, Canada, England, the United States, Palestine, and Paraguay. The sweep of his interests in this complex field is fairly represented by the valuable bibliography and "Directory of Organizations Interested in Intentional Cooperative Communities, Cooperative Group Farming, and Industrial Cooperative Co-partnerships" which appear at the end of the book. The biographer is Watson Thomson, a close friend of Henri Lasserre during the latter's closing years, and former Director of Adult Education, Province of Saskatchewan.

Henri Lasserre had the generosity to appreciate the best in an extreme secular view of life such as Henrik Infield's, as well as an extreme religious view such as that held by the Hutterites. He agreed with the latter that God requires the whole man in complete selflessness, but he felt that even a community with the consecrated spirit of the Hutterites should not represent itself as the only channel to God. He would always leave the individual free to act in important matters by that inner voice which no community, nor even a close friend, can adequately appreciate or evaluate. Hence his main interest in the secular structure of community.

Henri Lasserre believed that only the secular aspects of life could bear formal organization, serving thus as the springboard for the utmost in spiritual attainment. His peculiar contribution to the cooperative community was to devise for groups organizational structure relating to their particular needs. He felt that this structure should give to the community authority over the individual in economic matters, including directing a man as to what work he is to do for the community. But he could not follow Henrik Infield and the Hutterites in their belief that the community should relieve the individual from responsibility for his actions in ethical matters.

Inconsistent with his general spirit is Henri Lasserre's seeming failure to appreciate that to the conscientious worker the nature and application of his work is of even religious importance and must be subject to the same individual choice and final approval of that inner sense of appropriateness which Lasserre would insist on in religious matters. Henri Lasserre also failed to realize that so long as the individual conscience is respected he

need not fear community persuasion in much that is sacred in human relations. The intimate community is a religious as well as an economic organism; for this reason it is necessary, if group life is to be significant, to incorporate this fact into its framework. The danger of having a particular formulation of religion become orthodox and unquestionable is ever-present, but must be met and mastered if any significant community is to take place. It can only be mastered by way of the sensitive individual affirming the ethical and moral authority of conscience in determining what is right for him, and by the community acknowledging this highest ultimate authority.

Henri Lasserre was naïve and failed often. But from his failures he ever emerged with clearer vision. Standing often alone among men, longing as he did for the fellowship of the loving community, he was father and godfather to numerous lone and struggling groups which today are more informed of fellow pioneers and the more inspired by his reconciling personality.

We are grateful to Watson Thomson for so ably making the personality of Henri Lasserre available for all who have eyes to see or ears to hear.

—ALFRED ANDERSEN

COMMUNITY FORESTS

Communities in New York state have during the past forty years reclaimed some 200,000 acres of abandoned farmland in their vicinities by planting seedlings which have developed into forested land. These forests are not only recreational areas and sanctuaries for wild life, but watershed protection and potential timber resources. In one town, Little Falls, two selective cuttings of this second growth have liquidated the cost of the reforestation. Even this is but a small portion of the available, arable land which since 1900 has been abandoned. Some 4,000,000 acres in New York state alone could thus be utilized by communities, school districts and counties who already own them or could easily acquire them.

Citizens' councils would do well to look into this field of community improvement, combining as it does vital conservation principles, clear economic advantages, and added attractiveness to the surrounding countryside. —Condensed from *The Community Forum*, N.Y. State Citizens Council, February, 1949.

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Community Service, Inc., is an organization to promote the interests of the community as a basic social institution, concerned with the economic, recreational, educational, cultural and spiritual development of its members. Community Service was incorporated in 1940 as a non-profit organization to supply information and service for small communities and their leaders, in the belief that the decay of the American community constitutes a crisis which calls for steady and creative effort. The nation-wide interest expressed during the succeeding years has reinforced this opinion.
